

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION NODS-00

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O 281146Z OCT 77
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8942

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 TEL AVIV 8457

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (BLUMENTHAL, W. MICHAEL), IS
SUBJECT: SECRETARY OF TREASURY BLUMENTHAL'S MEETING WITH FOREIGN
MINISTER DAYAN

1. I ACCOMPANIED SECRETARY BLUMENTHAL AND UNDER SECRETARY
SOLOMON FOR A CALL ON FOREIGN MINISTER DAYAN OCTOBER 25.
BLUMENTHAL FIRST DESCRIBED THE GENERAL PURPOSES OF HIS TRIP
TO THE MIDDLE EAST AND ASKED HOW DAYAN SAW THE PEACE
PROCESS DEVELOPING AT PRESENT.

2. DAYAN SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO MAKE TWO POINTS INITIALLY.
FIRST, THAT HE WAS CONVINCED THE PRESENT MOMENT WAS THE
MOST PROPITIOUS FOR REACHING AT LEAST SOME MEASURE
OF PEACE WITH ALL OF ISRAEL'S NEIGHBORS IN MANY YEARS.
HE BELIEVED THAT ISRAEL MUST DO ITS UTMOST TO TAKE ADVANTAGE
OF THIS OPPORTUNITY. SECOND, HE SAID HE APPRECIATED
VERY MUCH PRESIDENT CARTER'S INITIATIVES AND ENERGETIC
PURSUIT OF PEACE NEGOTIATIONS, EVEN THOUGH HE DOES NOT
AGREE WITH PRESIDENT CARTER AS TO WHAT A FINAL PEACE
SETTLEMENT SHOULD LOOK LIKE. HE SAID HE BELIEVED IT
WAS ESSENTIAL THAT THE U.S. CONTINUE TO BE INVOLVED IN
THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS, NOT JUST AS A MEDIATOR BUT AS
A PARTNER. WITHOUT THE EFFORTS OF THE U.S., HE
ACKNOWLEDGED THAT "WE CANNOT MAKE ANY REAL PROGRESS".

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MOREOVER, HE SAID, EGYPT IS THE KEY. HE RECOGNIZED THAT
SADAT MUST DEMONSTRATE TO HIS OWN PEOPLE THE BENEFITS
OBTAINED BY BREAKING WITH THE USSR AND WORKING WITH THE
UNITED STATES. FOR THIS REASON, HE SAID, "YOU NEED TO
HELP EGYPT ECONOMICALLY AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE, BUT IF I
WERE YOU I WOULD PROVIDE THE HELP ON THE CONDITION THAT
THERE BE NO WAR". HE SAID HE WAS ENCOURAGED BY REPORTS

OF THE RECONSTRUCTION ALONG THE SUEZ CANAL, BUT THAT IT WOULD OBVIOUSLY MAKE NO SENSE FOR THE U.S. TO PROVIDE MAJOR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE UNLESS WE WERE ASSURED THAT SADAT WOULD NOT HAVE THE RESULTS ALL DESTROYED IN THE WAKE OF ANOTHER EGYPTIAN ATTACK. HE STRESSED THAT "WE WILL NOT OPEN FIRE, BUT THAT SADAT SHOULD NOT TALK SO MUCH ABOUT WAR. IF IT STARTS, HE WILL AGAIN SUFFER THE CONSEQUENCES."

3. DAYAN THEN SAID THAT HE WAS TRULY WORRIED ABOUT THE JOINT US-USSR STATEMENT, AND THE OBVIOUS U.S. MOVE IN THE DIRECTION OF THE SOVIET POSITION. BUT, HE SAID, "I DON'T WANT TO DISCUSS THESE UNPLEASANT THINGS THIS MORNING".

4. DAYAN THEN SAID HE THOUGHT THAT JORDAN'S ROLE IN THE PROBLEM OF PALESTINIAN REFUGEES IS CRUCIAL. "ONE DAY", HE SAID, "I WILL SUGGEST TO OUR GOVERNMENT TO LET ALL THE PALESTINAIN REFUGEES WHO WANT TO RETURN FROM JORDAN TO THE WEST BANK TO DO SO. YOU WILL SEE; THEY WON'T COME, FOR MANY OF THEM ARE WELL SETTLED ON THE EAST BANK." BUT, HE SAID, IT WOULD BE VERY HELPFUL IF THE U.S. WOULD ASSIST JORDAN ECONOMICALLY TO PROVIDE BETTER HOUSING AND TO RESETTLE MORE FURTHER THOSE REFUGEES NOW IN JORDAN. HE ALSO FOLLOWED THIS WITH A SIMILAR APPEAL FOR U.S. ASSISTANCE TO ISRAEL TO PROVIDE
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MORE PERMANENT HOUSING FOR REFUGEES IN GAZA, AND MENTIONED AS WELL HIS HOPE THAT THE U.S. COULD PROVIDE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF VILLAGES IN SOUTH LEBANON IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN SOUTH LEBANON AS A WELL-INHABITED AREA RATHER THAN A DESERTED NO-MAN'S LAND IN WHICH GUERRILLA BANDS CAN FLOURISH. LATER AS BLUMENTHAL WAS LEAVING, DAYAN CAME BACK TO THIS POINT AND ASKED WHETHER WE COULD CONSIDER ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR THESE PURPOSES. BLUMENTHAL SAID HE WOULD CERTAINLY LOOK AT THE QUESTION.

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5. AFTER SOME DISCUSSION OF THE CURRENT STATE OF NEGOTIATIONS OVER THE "WORKING PAPER" ON GENEVA CONFERENCE PROCEDURES, BLUMENTHAL ASKED WHETHER IT WAS CONCEIVABLE THAT EGYPT WOULD GET OUT AHEAD OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES TO MAKE A SEPARATE AGREEMENT WITH ISRAEL. DAYAN RESPONDED THAT HE WAS AFRAID THAT AN EFFORT TO NEGOTIATE SIMULTANEOUSLY ABOUT AND OVERALL SETTLEMENT WILL ONLY LEAD TO EACH OF THE ARAB STATES ADOPTING THE MOST EXTREME POSITIONS. DAYAN SAID THAT AT A CERTAIN PERIOD IN HIS WASHINGTON AND NEW YORK DISCUSSIONS PRESIDENT CARTER HAD PRESSED HIM ON THE NECESSITY FOR A MORE OPEN DIPLOMATIC PROCESS. DAYAN SAID HE HAD RESPONDED THAT THIS WAS ALL RIGHT WITH ISRAEL, BUT POSED THE QUESTION "SUPPOSE ISRAEL AND EGYPT CAN AGREE IN PRIVATE TO END THE STATE OF WAR WITH THE ARRANGEMENT TO BE CONFIRMED PRIVATELY THROUGH EXCHANGES OF LETTERS WITH THE U.S." DAYAN SAID PRESIDENT CARTER AGREED THAT HE WOULD NOT WANT TO STAND IN THE WAY OF SUCH A PRIVATE UNDERSTANDING DESPITE HIS PREFERENCE FOR A MORE OPEN COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTION.

6. UNDER SECRETARY SOLOMON RAISED FOR DISCUSSION SOME IDEAS HE HAD HEARD FROM A GROUP OF ISRAELI PROFESSORS THE PREVIOUS EVENING ABOUT THE WEST BANK AND A POSSIBLE THIRD STATE. DAYAN RESPONDED THAT WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI
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SECURITY FORCES FROM KEY STRONGHOLDS ALONG THE JORDAN AND ALONG THE WEST BANK WOULD DOOM ISRAEL'S ULTIMATE EXISTENCE. HE THEN REHEARSED AT SOME LENGTH HIS FAMILIAR VIEWS OF THE WEST BANK PROBLEM. HE SAID THAT HE WAS CERTAIN THAT PRESIDENT CARTER WANTED PEACE AND WOULD NEVER KNOWINGLY SACRIFICE ISRAEL'S SECURITY. "BUT I AM AFRAID HE DOES NOT UNDERSTAND WHAT WOULD BE THE ULTIMATE OUTCOME WERE WE TO RELY ON EXTERNAL GUARANTEES FOR THE SECURITY OF THIS REGION." HE SAID " WE MUST RETAIN OUR OWN ABILITY TO ASSURE OUR SECURITY; THEN EXTERNAL GUARANTEES CAN ALSO BE VERY HELPFUL. HE WENT OVER THE HISTORY

OF ALLEGED AMERICAN FAILURES TO HONOR COMMITMENTS OF ONE KIND OR ANOTHER IN 1948 AND IN 1967, AND RAISED THE FAMILIAR QUESTION OF WHAT WOULD HAVE HAPPENED TO ISRAEL HAD THE SURPRISE ATTACK FROM SYRIAN AND EGYPT IN 1973 BEEN LAUNCHED FROM ISRAEL'S 1967 BORDERS.

7. WITH REGARD TO GUARANTEES, DAYAN SAID HE WAS PERSONALLY VERY MUCH IN FAVOR OF U.S. GUARANTEES, ALTHOUGH NOT IN LIEU OF ISRAELI CAPACITY TO DEFEND ITSELF. HOWEVER, HE SAID "I AM IN THE MINORITY-- EVEN GOLDA'S VERY MUCH AGAINST ME ON THIS". HE CHARACTERIZED INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES AS "MEANINGLESS", BUT THOUGHT THAT A GENUINE "NATO TYPE" U.S. GUARANTEE WOULD BE A REAL DETERRENT TO THE ARABS, BUT NOT AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR DEFENSIBLE BORDERS AND ISRAELI MILITARY PRESENCE IN KEY POSITIONS. BUT, HE SAID, "I THINK WE CAN MAINTAIN THOSE POSITIONS WITHOUT DENYING THE WEST BANK ARABS A FEELING OF HAVING AN AUTONOMY AND A REAL STAKE IN THEIR OWN HOMELAND."

8. BLUMENTHAL ASKED DAYAN WHY THERE WAS SO MUCH PREOCCUPATION OVER CERTAIN WORDS IN THE PROCESS OF
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PREPARING FOR GENEVA--FOR EXAMPLE, EXACTLY HOW THE ROLE OF THE PALESTINIANS IS DESCRIBED, OR WHETHER THE WORD "SESSION" WAS SINGULAR OR PLURAL (AN ISSUE RAISED EARLIER WITH BLUMENTHAL BY BEGIN). DAYAN TOOK ISSUE WITH THE THOUGHT THAT HE HAD BEEN "QUIBBLING OVER WORDS" DURING HIS NEGOTIATIONS IN THE U.S. HE STRESSED THAT HE GENUINELY WANTED THE PALESTINAINS PRESENT AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE. BUT THEN HE DREW THE FAMILIAR DISTINCTION THAT TO ACCEPT THE PLO WAS TO MAKE INEVITABLE A NEGOTIATION OVER AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE, A CONCEPT WHICH ISRAEL CAN NEVER ACCEPT. THEREFORE, HE SAID, WE HAVE TO AVOID FORMULATIONS IN WORDS WHICH CAN HAVE ONLY ONE OUTCOME.

9. AFTER SOME FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THE STATE OF PLAY IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS, THE MEETING ADJOURNED.

10. THIS MESSAGE WAS DRAFTED AFTER SECRETARY BLUMENTHAL'S DEPARTURE AND HE HAS NOT REVIEWED IT.

11. DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS DHAMRAN FOR BLUMENTHAL, AMMAN, CAIRO AND DAMASCUS.
LEWIS

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